

OCTOBER, 1843.

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SPEECHES

OF

DANIEL O'CONNELL

AND

THOMAS STEELE,

ON THE SUBJECT OF

AMERICAN SLAVERY,

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

LOYAL NATIONAL REPEAL ASSOCIATION

OF IRELAND,

IN REPLY TO CERTAIN LETTERS RECEIVED FROM

REPEAL ASSOCIATIONS IN THE U. STATES.

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PHILADELPHIA:

TO BE HAD, GRATUITOUSLY, AT THE ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE, 31 N. FIFTH ST.

1843.

# O'CONNELL, REPEAL, AND SLAVERY.

O'CONNELL has become almost as much of an "Agitator" in the United States as he is in his own country. His frequent and just denunciations of our republican inconsistency and despotism, has thrown our people into paroxysms of excitement, and given a fresh impulse to the anti-slavery discussion. Many attempts have been made to ward off his blows, and resist his mighty influence; but all without effect. His enemies resort to the English plan of traducing his character, and charging him with selfish and avaricious motives. They say he is a demagogue, and leads the people to fill his pockets with their money. But his very course on American slavery is a refutation of this calumny, and furnishes strong proof of his disinterestedness; for, at the time when Repeal was apparently at its acme of popularity on this side of the water, and when contributions were pouring in from all quarters, he uttered his strongest denunciations of slavery, and nobly declared that he did not want any "blood-stained money."—His *professed friends* (many of them, at least) try another resort, and while eulogising his character, endeavor to conceal from the people his true sentiments in regard to American slaveholders and their abettors. Of this class are the editors of the Daily Chronicle of this city. For instance: not long since that paper, in a report of the meeting of the old Repeal Association of Philadelphia, at which a speech of the Liberator was read, stated that Mr. O'Connell had very much modified his tone toward this country; that his language was more "conciliatory," and would pass current at the South as "orthodox." In other words, that Mr. O'Connell had retracted his strong expressions, and so modified his speech as to give no offence to slaveholders. How much truth there was in this may be judged from the proceedings below, copied from the Dublin papers.

A private letter from a gentleman in Dublin, now before us, alluding to the speech referred to by the Daily Chronicle as being so "conciliatory" and "orthodox," says:

"The leader of the Irish people has nobly sustained his character as a lover and advo-

cate of universal freedom. I waited with much anxiety for his declaration of sentiments after receipt of the last news from America. *He retracted nothing.* He confirmed all his former denunciations of slavery and its abettors, so that no 'soul-driver' in your land can ever again pretend ignorance of O'Connell's antipathy to them and their inhuman practices. *And the sentiments of O'Connell on this subject are the sentiments of the whole Irish people."*

## LETTER FROM PHILADELPHIA.

From the Dublin Freeman's Journal, Aug. 25.

At an adjourned meeting of the Loyal National Repeal Association, held in the Dublin Corn Exchange, August 22d, 1813, Stephen Murphy in the chair,

Mr. O'Connell said he had unfeigned pleasure in reading a letter from Judge Doran, of Philadelphia, in the United States, enclosing 50l., which shall appear in a future number. Accompanying this letter, was the resolution referred to, which, although he (Mr. O'Connell) had some determination, was rather too strong for him to read (a laugh). He would beg of Mr. Ray to read it for the association, as it was a public document.

Mr. Ray then read the resolution, which was received with loud cheers.

Mr. O'Connell moved that the letter of Judge Doran should be inserted on the minutes, and that the most expressive thanks of the association, and the people of Ireland, be conveyed to him, and he was sure that Mr. Ray would take care to have published the names of the individuals who had subscribed. He had that resolution read, not from any peevish vanity—not for the pleasure of hearing himself praised. He had the pleasure of being over-praised upon the one hand, and, as a set-off, he was well abused on the other, so they became a kind of neutral quantity to him; he was insensible of the satisfaction of being praised, and he was totally reckless of any feeling arising from abuse (hear, hear). But there was one species of abuse that would afflict him very much, and that was, if it were for anything connected with the misery or misfortune of his fellow man (hear, hear).—He had proclaimed there the sentiments of the association, and their abhorrence of negro slavery, and slavery of every kind, no matter what the creed, caste, or color of the wretched victim might be (hear, hear, and cheers). He hurled the indignant feelings of his soul against those who in America practised that hideous and unchristian custom of holding their fellow-men as slaves. If he did not use

harsher language in reference to them, it was because he did not know any stronger than he had used, and he retracted nothing—he shrink from nothing he had said, and he would not be the advocate of liberty in Ireland, if he were not the advocate of freedom for every human being in every portion of the globe (cheers). England possessed this advantage, that her flag could not flutter over the head of a slave, and practical domestic slavery was put an end to wherever the British flag was predominant. He (Mr. O'Connell) had spoken of the stain upon the American flag, the dark stain of negro slavery, and he would neither retract that accusation or shrink from its assertion. He also spoke of the hideous manner in which the slave must be treated—the impossibility of his getting fair play or justice when he had no command of his own person, nor had anything he could call his own but the soul by which he was animated (hear, hear). He had been met from America with an extreme degree of abuse, but he delighted in that abuse, because it showed their sensitiveness to his charge; it showed they were sensible it was a degradation to have such things said of them.—They had a right to be angry, and by being so, vindicated him (Mr. O'C.) and his principles, and condemned themselves by the consciousness they thus exhibited of their own guilt (hear). Yes, he was rejoiced at it (cheers). They had called him a slanderer, and a base, malignant traducer, and what proof had they adduced of his being so? He said they treated as slaves the negro human being, born in the hope of the same redemption, endued with the same immortal soul, and destined for eternity, as they were. They treated as slaves the negroes so endued—their brothers in the creation, their equals in every tie of humanity; and he would remind the Americans of this, that there were qualities which the negro possessed in a higher degree than any other class, and these were the qualities of affection and gratitude (hear). They were a most affectionately disposed people; they had never given proofs of ingratitude; but on the contrary, they had ever shown a superabundance of gratitude, even for small favors, and exhibited all the kindly emotions and gentler feelings of the human heart. They accused him of being a slanderer because he said they treated human beings as beasts of the field, and as mere chattels. Was he not at law a chattel? Did he not pass to an executor; and if an execution issued against the owner of the slave, was he not sold as a horse or dog? Was he not torn from his wife and family if it be the interest of his master or his master's creditor that it should be so!—The persons who contradicted him felt that they had treated them like beasts, and they were angry at being told they had done so. They gave the negro no education; they condemned them to eternal ignorance; and not only the book of science, but the book of God,

was shut against them. They treated the negro as a brute, and some of them had the audacity to say that he was not a human creature on a level with themselves. And who said that? Those persons whose sons and daughters were the children of negro women (hear, hear). Let not those negro owners, therefore, talk to him of calumniating them. Let not the Americans suppose that the spirit of republicanism could cover the enormous guilt of human slavery (hear). It was not to be mitigated (hear). No slaveholder could stand on the same ground with a Christian man who was struggling to put an end to slavery; they were not belonging to the same class or belonging to the same society; he repudiated from his knowledge any man who was so base as to think he was justified in making a property of a sentient human being. It was idle to think that by blustering they could get rid of the enormity of the crime—it was idle to think that by calling it an institution they could get rid of the atrocity of the system. It was so much the worse to have it an institution (hear). That wretch, Lord Brougham, had lately made a speech on slavery, and praised the soil of Texas, and thus held out inducements under the sanction of his name to emigrate there. But did he not know that on the banks of the rivers there were the most unwholesome marshes on the face of the earth, and, as to the more healthy climate, it was to be found only in the back or western parts of Texas, but those who settled there were subject to the attacks of the Indians, armed with deadly weapons, and mounted upon horses. They have there, from the position they hold in the social state, assumed the Tartar qualities. Formerly they went on foot, having no animals to ride, but now they form a cavalry, and it is most dangerous for any white man to be found in the healthful region. The Indians slaughtered the inhabitants in the healthful regions, and miasma and pestilence destroyed them nearer the sea coast. Lord Brougham held out a hope that the Texans would put an end to negro slavery, but by their continuing the act 17 or 18 years must elapse before a change could take place, and even then two-thirds of the white population must seek for its abolition before any step was taken to abolish it. Lord Brougham had been encouraging the English settlers to go into that country, and to bring their capital there, that Texas might continue to encourage the raising of negroes in other places for sale in that country. If the man was not so degraded in every respect, this last black blow of his against the Mexicans and in favor of the Texans would be sufficient to degrade him.

“If parts allure you, think how Brougham shined,  
The maddest, basest, meanest of mankind”  
(cheers.)

He (Mr. O'C.) would go back to America. They were told that the speech he made in

that room would put an end to the remittances from America, and that the Americans would not again contribute to the funds of the association. But, besides the letter he had read, there were other letters containing subscriptions from America, which would be read next day. So they had received fully £200, from America since his attack on American slavery (hear, hear). He was rejoiced that they had sent them that money, and of the sympathy they conveyed; and he was rejoiced infinitely more at the principle which was involved in that sympathy, showing, as it did, that they were not so attached to slavery as to Ireland (cheers). It showed that they must have some feeling about them of the evils of slavery, and favorable to making the colored man what nature and nature's God intended him, the equal of the white man. They must have that feeling when they forget the anger produced by his assertion, and still cling to old Ireland. Otherwise, they never would get one shilling from America, and, even if they had not, his course was plain, his path was obvious. He would be ashamed of himself and of his country if he did not take that course. He was attached to liberty; he was the uncompromising hater of slavery wherever it was to be found (cheers). What was it to him a man's color!—he was a human being (cheers). What was it to him that it was an American institution!—he hated the thing more for being an institution (hear).—He would have regretted the effect of his speech, but he would not have shrunk from it (cheers). He spoke in the name of the Irish people, and spoke the sentiments of the association, for there was not a man amongst them who did not hate slavery, and love liberty as much as he did (cheers). It appeared that Mr. Stokes, who was an active member of the former Repeal Association, in Philadelphia, had withdrawn from it, because of his attack upon American slavery. He consented that he should do so. He might be a respectable man, but if he were more in love with slavery than with Ireland, what did he [Mr. O'Connell] care for his assistance (hear)? Mr. Stokes was, of course, entitled to exercise a free choice, and it was competent for him to adopt whatever course appeared to him the most preferable. For himself, however, he [Mr. O'Connell] felt that a high and holy principle was involved, and nothing would ever induce him to view slavery, no matter in what quarter of the world it was found to exist, with other sentiments than those of detestation, indignation, and disgust. Curiously enough, in one of the very newspapers that contained the resolutions, he found an advertisement notifying to the public that any one who had negroes to dispose of would obtain the highest price for them, by applying to a certain person whose name and address were given at full length. He did not mean to say, however, that men were not to be found in America who viewed with honest indignation

this barbarous system [hear, hear]. He knew, too, that there were many, very many, in America to whom the name of Ireland was dear. He regarded the communication which he had just read as a gratifying symptom of the state of popular feeling, and hailed with sincere gratitude this testimonial of sympathy from the Americo-Irish and Americans, whose ardor in the cause of Ireland would appear to have suffered no diminution after his opinions on the slavery question had been given to the world (hear, hear). He begged leave, in conclusion, to move that the letter of Judge Doonan be inserted upon the minutes, and the warmest thanks of the association be presented to the respected writer, and to their friends in Philadelphia, for this highly-prized token of sympathy and affectionate regard (hear, and cheers).

Mr. Steele—I am not going to make what can be called a speech, but from the hour when I first took a part in public business up to this hour, I never found it more incumbent on me, in a few plain words, to say something than now, as a duty to this association, and as a duty to my own character. In the first place, I second the motion of the Liberator, and in doing so, I beg to repeat the expression of my deepest gratitude for the infinitude of compliment and kindness which I have received in the innumerable communications sent me from America (cheers). And now, sir, I come directly to the matter of character. Yesterday, on my return from Roscommon, one of the first things I took up to read in the Liberator's study was an American newspaper, "*The Emancipator*." In this paper there is an editorial article, expressing disapproval of my august leader's fervor of denunciation of American negro slavery, and the article states, in sustinment of the view of the writer, that in this room Mr. S. made a speech decisively opposed on this subject to O'Connell, and that Mr. Steele was loudly cheered (hear). Now, you men of Ireland, I do not by any means ascribe to the editor of the *Emancipator* any intention of wilful misrepresentation, for I think I have sagacity enough to perceive how his mistake was caused; but it cannot be necessary for me to say that nothing of the kind ever occurred. O'Connell, myself, and the reporters, and the newspapers, are my witnesses, if any proof were required beyond my own denial (great cheering and cries of hear, hear). No sir, if ever there was unison the most intense and pure, between the soul of man with man, it is the unison of my soul with the soul of my master in political science, on the subject, the awful subject of human slavery (hear, hear). No, the magic echoes of Killarney, in his native Kerry, do not give back in greater perfection the dulcet music that evokes them, than my spirit gives back, instead of producing jarring discord, the dulcet music of the soul of the Liberator on the sanctified subject of human freedom (applause). The Repeal of the Union is a glorious question, but what

is the Repeal of the Union in comparison with the slavery question in its abstract sublimity of horror! The Repeal question sinks into insignificance in comparison. I am an ardent Repealer (cheers). I am O'Connell's Head Repeal Warden of Ireland, and if I possess any one quality which amounts to a virtue, it is the quality of desperate fidelity to those who confide in me; and yet, although Ireland does confide in me, I declare most solemnly—I take no oath beyond swearing by what my own soul holds most sanctified, be that what it may—that if the Repeal of the Union, and the establishment of Ireland's independence were to be achieved by my giving my sanction to the making a single slave in any part of the world, I would refuse my sanction, and leave Ireland to work out her independence under O'Connell, either as a peaceful regenerator, or, if driven to it, for Field Marshal (hear, hear, and peals of acclamation). I think, sir, I can (as the Americans say) "guess" how it was that the editor of *The Emancipator* fell into the error under which I was misrepresented (hear). Mr. Mooney, some time ago, had the audacious impudence—I can characterize his conduct by no more softened form of expression—to republish a speech of mine made in this room, and by a flagitious perversion of its spirit, to try to turn it against my leader, the Liberator, in sustenance of his (Mooney's) most noisome and revolting palliation of the baleful iniquity of the system by which one man can become the property of another (hear, hear). I think it right to state that when I made this speech my friend and leader himself was actually present (hear, hear). What I said was this—and this is what Mooney had the insolence to put down in the leading capitals in the American newspapers, as "*Steele versus O'Connell*"—I said that no matter what were our opinions on the subject in the depths of our own souls, that from the moment when my friend Maurice O'Connell and I should enter the territory of the United States of America on our repeal mission, receiving the protection of the laws and institutions of the American Republic, such as they are, (and bad as they are, while slavery is one of their elements,) but while voluntarily going into the country, and receiving the protection of those laws and institutions, I said, and I now say again, that in my opinion, upon every principle of international equity and private delicacy, we would have no right whatever to interfere while in the country, by our denunciation, with those institutions which afforded us the very same protection that they afforded to the American citizens themselves (cries of hear, hear, and cheering). For this I am represented, by a vile perversion, as being in traitorous antagonism to the sublime principles of human liberty of my august friend and leader—I am quoted, forsooth! with the most audacious impudence and lying, as "*Steele versus O'Connell*" (loud applause).

## LETTER FROM CINCINNATI.

From the Dublin Freeman's Journal, of Aug. 21.

Mr. John O'Connell read a letter from Mr. D. T. Disney, corresponding secretary of the Irish Repeal Association of Cincinnati, enclosing a bank order for 113l. 10s. In the letter, which was very lengthy, the writer discussed in detail the subject of slavery in the United States, and endeavored to show that those who countenanced the system were not as worthy of reprobation as the Liberator supposed. Mr. John O'Connell, in common with other gentlemen present, appeared to be highly indignant at some of the sentiments contained in this letter. He said he was disgusted in reading it, and was almost inclined to throw it out of his hand, (hear, hear, from Mr. Steele.)

Mr. D. O'Connell confessed with sorrow that there was much in the letter which excited his indignation, disgust, and regret. It came from one of the free states—from the state of Ohio, and the remittance which it enclosed was consequently such a gift as they might conscientiously receive and feel grateful to the givers, for the testimony which it conveyed of sympathy and affection: but at the same time that he made this free admission, he thought it a duty imperatively incumbent upon him to express in terms as distinct and emphatic as language could convey, his unqualified dissent from the doctrines propounded by the author (hear, hear): and indeed it was a bitter reflection to think that human nature could be so degraded that men who had not even a personal or pecuniary interest in the upholding of slavery should be so base as to come forward and volunteer their services as its advocates (cheers.) That human beings—and they, too, Irishmen—who could not even plead in extenuation for their criminality the pality, pitiful excuse of being stimulated to countenance slavery by motives of personal interest, should wantonly put themselves forward as the enemies of the wretched slaves, and as the friends of their oppressors, argued a degree of heartlessness which, for the honor of human nature, he was sorry should be found to have anywhere an existence. Oh, shame upon them who, calling themselves Irishmen, could act such a part! The Latin proverb of "*Celum non animam mutant qui trans mare currunt*"—they change the climate, not their hearts, who leave their native shores, was reversed in their case, for the expatriated Irishmen who defended or justified the practice of slavery changed not merely their climate, but altered altogether the constitution of their minds, and divested themselves, to their eternal dishonor, of those genial feelings of the heart which were considered as indigenous to the soil of Ireland. They had thrown off the high spirit of chivalrous devotion to liberty which was supposed to be characteristic of Irishmen all over the world—they had alter-

ed, so to speak, the very nature of their blood, and were as stiff, as stark, as cruel, as heartless as if they had been born slaveholders.— There was in the letter which had just been read an impudent assertion of superiority over the negro race, which was calculated to excite at once the ridicule and honest indignation of every right-thinking man. They also took occasion to attack the abolitionists, and would have us believe, forsooth, that the slaveholders were thwarted in their philanthropic designs by the abolitionists, who, by insisting on the demolition of slavery, stopped and impeded that amiable class of men in some imaginary career of benevolence (hear, hear, and cheers.) It was not the case—this statement was utterly at variance with the fact; and even were it otherwise, was this any reason why men should be found to palliate and justify the hateful practice of slavery? But this was nothing more nor less than an empty, frivolous pretence. When the Irish people were struggling for emancipation, how often were not they told the same story? How often were they not told that they were injuring their own cause by the energy of their exertions, and that they would have been emancipated long since were it not for the violence of the popular leaders and their threats against Protestant dominion, which rendered it unsafe for England to emancipate us, although all the world now acknowledges that the Irish people worked out their own deliverance from bondage, and that it is to themselves alone they have to be grateful for the achievement of emancipation. He meant to move that this letter be inserted upon the minutes, and that it be referred to a committee of the association to consider it in all its details and draw up a befitting reply. That reply would formally embody the sentiments of the association, and he was now only glancing in a cursory manner over some of the most prominent points. The letter talked of the inferiority of the negro race, but was it not a curious fact, that notwithstanding that alleged inferiority, the negro women were mothers of the children of those who persecuted and oppressed the negro. Their children were the children of negro women. Black women were the parents of their children, and yet with the same breath wherewith they admitted this fact they had the audacity to assert, that the negro race was an inferior race to that of the whites; but it was a lie—a notorious lie. The negroes had in some respects the superiority over the white race—in gentle feelings and in the kind and affectionate impulses of the heart, the negro had a decided advantage over the white man; and in the noble quality of gratitude for favors conferred he was infinitely the superior of the man who oppressed him. And if there was an inferiority, to what was that inferiority to be traced—was it not to slavery? Yes, surely it was. The yoke of thralldom broke the spirit and brutalized the mind of

him who was subjected to it, and the saying was as old as Homer, that the hour which deprived a man of his liberty took away one-half his worth. The alleged inferiority of the oppressed man had from time immemorial formed the favorite argument upon which the oppressor relied for his justification. When the British government applied to the Arab chief in Africa with a request that he would not be guilty of the atrocity of making white men slaves, what was the reply of the Arab? He refused to comply with the application of the British government, saying that the men in question were much better off in Africa than they could be in England, and added that the white men were a debased and degraded order of beings—that they were inferior by nature to the black, and that in fact they were only fit to be the slaves of the Africans, who were evidently designed to be their masters. Could those who wrote that letter forget the case of John Adams, an American sailor, who having been shipwrecked upon the coast of Africa, was doomed to slavery by the natives!—For three years he continued their slave, and when he was liberated at the expiration of that period it was proved that his intellectual powers had been so impaired by his bondage that he was utterly unable to give any account of himself. He had lost his native language without having acquired that of the people amongst whom he lived; his heart was broken, his spirit was crushed, his mind was gone, and he was an object of universal pity. Such were the debasing effects which slavery had produced within the short period of three years upon a free-born citizen of free and independent America (hear, hear.) So, too, with the negro. His oppressors first brutalized him, and then taunted him with being brutal. England's treatment of Ireland was exactly a case in point. The English government passed penal statutes making it felony for the Irish to educate their children, and then they turned round upon the people of this country and exclaimed with indignation, "How ignorant you are!" (hear, hear, and cheers.) They talked in that letter of the hardship that the abolition of slavery would be to parties who had property in slaves, but he met this argument by a distinct denial of any man's right to have property in his fellow-man. He denied that man could be the property of man; and oh, was it not melancholy that they who were most energetic in denying the truth of this proposition should be citizens of a state in the manifesto of whose constitution these words were found—"We take these truths to be self-demonstrated—that all men have inalienable rights, and those rights are, life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;" (hear, hear, and cheers.) There was their assertion; but their practice was to limit those rights to a mere section of humanity, (cries of hear, hear.) Talk to him [Mr. O'Connell] of injuring the interests of slaveholders!

What were their interests to him? He could have no compassion, no sympathy for a man who had property in his fellow-man. The citizens of the United States would not for an instant brook the idea that the black negro should claim the right of having property in the yellow American, and why should the reverse of the proposition find favor in the eyes of any man who pretends to Christianity? They talked in that letter of the constitution forbidding the abolition of negro slavery. The state of Massachusetts had decided that such was not the principle of the constitution. But he would not stop to discuss this point with them. He would take the argument in its full force, as they contended for it, and ask them what was their conduct, even in their own showing? In the District of Columbia, where the Congress assembled, there was no constitutional law in existence ordering that slavery must continue. They could abolish it there if they chose, but instead of doing so they had passed a law to debar negroes from the last resource of misery—the right to petition. Was there ever heard of such an insolent mockery as to boast of liberty in a land where such things could exist? And then, as to the idea of refusing to emancipate the slaves through a fear that they might make a profligate use of their liberty and turn on their masters, this was but a mean and paltry pretence, worthy of the corrupt heart and imbecile intellect of the man who could lend himself to the atrocity of trafficking on the bone and sinew of his fellow creatures, made after the same image as himself, and heir to the same eternal promise. Was not the same objection urged against the manumission of the slaves in the West Indies, and yet the day of their emancipation has passed in tranquillity and thanksgiving instead of in deeds of violence and retaliation. Five years had elapsed since then, and during that period the conduct of the negroes was beyond all praise. Instead of turning round upon their masters and committing acts of vengeance and retaliation, they demeaned themselves in a manner to challenge the admiration of the universe; and it was admitted on all hands that no peasantry in the world could be better behaved than the negro peasantry of the West Indies. So much for the inferiority of the black man. This document of the Cincinnati Repeal Association was one which should be calmly and deliberately reviewed in every point of view in which it could be taken, and he meant to move that it be referred to a committee of the association to draw up a full and suitable reply to it in all its complicated details [hear.] For the present he was only addressing himself in a brief and cursory manner to some of its prominent points. The writer talked of its being the manifest interest of the master to take care of his slave, and hence he inferred an inference in favor of "slavery." As to the idea of the master permitting other persons to abuse and maltreat their slaves

this was a charge, of which, had as they were, he would willingly acquit them. But what merit did they deserve upon this plea? They would not let a stranger cuff, kick, or abuse their slaves, to be sure, but their motive for this magnanimity was identical with that which prevented them from permitting anybody to kick, cuff, or abuse their ox, their ass, their horse, or their dog, merely because the effect of an injury thus received might be to incapacitate the injured animal from contributing, by his physical exertions, to the aggrandisement of his avaricious master. To this extent no doubt the slaveholders were entitled to the advantage of this argument *quantum valent*; but what further interest, he would ask, had the master in the well-being of the slave? The interest of the master in the slave only existed as long as the wretched victim of his bondage was able to toil and work—it was an interest which existed as long as vigor existed in the blood of the slave—as long as power was centred in the thews and sinews—but when his physical powers were paralysed by age or disease, where then was the interest of the master in the slave? But not the least evil of slavery remained yet to be noticed, and it was through that the victims of this hateful "institution" were debarred from the blessings of education. In every slaveholding state it was a statuteable offence, visited with most severe penalty, to teach a negro to read or write. They were doomed to ignorance—they were fated to be benighted in intellect—not only was the book of science closed against the negro, but the book of life also. And it must be observed that this was true, not only in the case of the negro who was in actual slavery, but also in that of the slave who has been set free. The "free" black man in the south dare not learn his letters, for a ban was put both on the education of the slave and that of the free man of color. But he had taken up too much of their time with this sermon against human liberty, [hear, hear.] Slavery was the dishonoring blot which marred the beauty of the star-spangled banner of the west, and there was no nation in the world so degraded as America, by her pretence to liberty and her practice of slavery. He begged leave in conclusion to move that the letter just read be referred to a committee of the association, whose duty it shall be to prepare a full and suitable reply thereto.

Mr. J. O'Connell seconded the motion.

Mr. Steele—Mr. Chairman, I do not rise to give a direct negative to a measure moved by O'Connell and seconded by John; but I just quietly submit to the calm consideration of this assembly whether we ought to refer to our committee an address of persons of a non slaveholding state, which address is deeply disrespectful to our moral leader [hear, hear]. If it came from slaveholders, and that they slated O'Connell for his denunciation of the infamous criminality of slaveholding, and of slave-breeding, why, on the principle of the

*lex talionis*, I could not think it out of the ordinary course of the working of, alas! imperfect human nature, that as he slated them, and justly, they should unjustly in reciprocation slate him (hear, hear). But, Mr. Chairman, in this case persons, non-slaveholders themselves, make the most noisome and disgusting, shallow, sophistical defence of slavery, and in that defence have the black-guardism to assail the sanctified character of the august moral regenerator. These Irishmen are out of Ireland: thank heaven! Ireland is not infected by their existence upon its soil. Oh, it is many a dry eye that is after their retiring from Ireland (great cheering).

Mr. O'Connell—Does my friend imagine that any compliment could be paid to me which I would value half so highly as the abuse of the friends of slavery? I have earned this distinction dearly—I have enjoyed it all my life, and my great claim on the affections of my countrymen lies in this fact, that every man who loves slavery essentially hates me (loud cheers).

Mr. Steele—I press the matter no farther, but leave it where it is; the more the base palliators of slavery abuse Dan, the more they exalt him (hear, hear, and cheering).

Motion put and carried.

#### LETTER FROM NEW ORLEANS.

On the same occasion, the following proceedings took place in reference to a letter received from the Louisiana Repeal Association.

From the Dublin Evening Post, Aug. 29.

Mr. Ray read a communication from the Irish Repeal Association of Louisiana, dated New Orleans, 14th July, 1843, enclosing "first exchange for 126*l.* 1*s.* 10*d.*, A. and M. Heim on Rothschild and Sons, of London, at sixty days' sight, in your favor, to be placed at the disposal of the Loyal National Repeal Association of Ireland." An address was read before the Louisiana Association by the Rev. J. J. Mullen, which states—

From Maine to Florida associations have been formed for the purpose of encouraging you, never to desist from the struggle until you have cloven down the altar and idol of bigotry which have so long disgraced and impoverished your fertile and beautiful isle—the most intimate and the most sacred have been formed between you and us.

Mr. O'Connell said that it afforded him

much pleasure to move that this letter be inserted upon the minutes, and that the secretary be requested to convey the sincere thanks of the Association to the contributors, and more especially to the gentlemen by whom the communication was written. It was most gratifying to witness these continually recurring proofs that the prevalence amongst the Irish people of that spirit of genuine liberty which urged them to execrate slavery where ever it was found to exist, had not injured them in the eyes of good, wise, and enlightened men at the other side of the Atlantic (hear.) Honor for ever to those who sacrificed their prejudices, and, perhaps too, their feelings of personal interest to such a cause as that of liberty and old Ireland [cheers.] Everybody knew what his [Mr. O'Connell's] sentiments were with respect to the doctrine that man could become the property of his fellow man—everybody knew the course that he would follow. Worlds would not tempt him to abate one jot of his detestation of slavery. He hated slavery as by an instinctive impulse wherever it existed [loud cheers.] The mention which the letter made of the name of Rothschild reminded him of an exceedingly authentic announcement which he had seen in a recent number of the London *Morning Post*, (laughter.) It was the paper read in the most fashionable circles of England—it was to be found upon the breakfast tables and in the studies of the nobility and aristocracy of England; and what creatures they must be, to be sure, who could find pleasure in perusing such a publication—what powers of credulity they must have to believe the statements contained in such a paper! It had now made a most notable discovery. It had ascertained more concerning him than he ever knew himself, for it had discovered that the Pope had conferred an annuity of 2,000*l.* per annum on him—and furthermore, that he had been for several years in the enjoyment of this annuity, [loud laughter.] Only think of that! [laughter.] There was but one thing, it appeared, that puzzled the writer of the paragraph in which this announcement was made in the *Post*. That sagacious gentleman was lost in surprise to think why it was the Pope should make the payments of this annuity through the hands of a man like Rothschild, who was a Jew, [laughter.] This was the only difficulty that presented itself to his sapient mind. The rest of the story he found not the slightest difficulty in crediting. What a people these English are, (laughter.)

The motion was carried unanimously.